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pothesis of the work, the value of the radical and healthy stimulus to American historical research afforded by this second phase in Professor Beard's American trilogy of economic determinism cannot be overstated. It is to be hoped that the trilogy will be extended to a cycle, the epilogue of which will be set in our own day.

FRANK I. SCHECHTER.

*Socialized Germany.* By FREDERIC C. HOWE, LL.D. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1915. Pp. x, 342.)

The purpose of this work is, *first*, to explain the foundations of efficiency, the bases of the extraordinary material strength, which the European conflict has revealed Germany as possessing; *second* and chiefly, to suggest "a new kind of social statesmanship which our own as well as other countries must take into consideration if they are to be prepared to meet the Germany which, in victory or defeat, emerges from the war." It is the system of state socialism, described in this volume, which "has largely made Germany what she is, a menace or a model, a problem to statesmen of other countries, and a pathfinder in social reform." It is the firm conviction of the author that "Germany is more intelligently organized than the rest of the world. The individual German receives more from society. He is better protected in his daily life. The gains of civilization are more widely distributed than they are with us."

State socialism in Germany is not, in the opinion of the author, entirely a product of modern influences and conditions. Much of it springs from the feudal elements which are still vital and effective in German society. The landed feudal aristocracy, the Junker class, is the dominating political force both in Prussia and the Empire. It is absolutistic, militaristic and imperialistic. It has always believed in a strong state and in broad state powers. The liberal, individualistic and *laissez faire* economic and political ideas of early nineteenth century England have never found lodgment in German philosophy. To this feudal viewpoint no opposition is raised by other classes. Monarchical or state socialism is the most natural thing in the world to Germans generally. "There have never been any presumptions in Germany against the state. From earliest times the great landed estates and forests have been owned and operated as part of the fiscal system. The lives and property of the individuals have been regulated with inquisitorial officialism. The state has been supreme in the eyes of all classes."

The comparative recency of the industrial revolution in Germany has permitted these feudal traditions to persist; feudal psychology has been merely adjusted to modern conditions. The state expanded its activity and its control over the new fields of modern industrialism, when these developed, as a matter of course. Moreover the highly efficient permanent civil service of Germany lends itself to such enlarged state functions, as the more democratic and corrupt administrative services, with which Americans at least are familiar, do not.

The policy of state socialism is a product of the German conception of the state, to which the author contributes one very interesting chapter. In his opinion this has no counterpart in ancient or modern times. The Roman Empire in the height of its power is the only state with which Germany can be compared. The state's activities are all a part of the German conception of *Kultur* which "includes state socialism, social legislation, the conservation of human life, and the promotion of the well-being of the people. All of the individual and collective contributions which Germany has made to the world form part of *Kultur* as the German understands the word." Unity is the predominant note in Germany. The nation thinks and acts as a great human mechanism. No group has been permitted to sacrifice the state to its exclusive control. Each class is ready to make the sacrifices, to accept the limitations on its privileges, necessary to national welfare. This process of socialization has been greatly promoted by the European war, and after the war there will doubtless be a great increase of state activity. Individual initiative and aggressive attack on the problems of industry, commerce and social intercourse are the products of this régime. A desire for service, exemplified by the eagerness to accept unpaid positions on city councils and committees, is a conspicuous feature of German public life. This high efficiency and potency of national life is secured, to be sure, at a certain cost. The most serious price is the caste system which runs through every fiber of the state. Unchallenged by the majority of the people who assume that an individual is born to his place in society, and that only in exceptional cases may he hope to rise from it, this vests the ultimate control of government in the hands of the old privileged classes. Caste prevails in social intercourse; it rules education. This is not, however, so the author thinks, a necessary part of state socialism. Thoroughly lacking in the democratic idea as the German state is, he believes that "the institutions that Germany has developed, and the efficiency that has been achieved are in no way inconsistent with democracy."

A considerable mass of valuable information has been accumulated on the various phases of imperial, state and municipal social activity. Not only is a full account given of the various state owned and operated industries, but the elaborate system of state regulation and control of private industry and social life is fully treated.

Unfortunately there are a number of errors and inaccuracies which mar in considerable degree the general excellence of the work. In treating of the constitutional organization of the government there is a tendency to general statements which will scarcely bear analysis. Thus the statement (p. 13) that "the constitution [of Prussia] was merely a recasting in legal form of the old feudal order," will not approve itself to students of German constitutional history and law. Nor is it scarcely correct to say (p. 13): "The King became the Kaiser, and along with the Bundesrat, or Senate, the final repository of authority." The Parliament Act by which the veto of the House of Lords in England was abolished is referred to (p. 14) as dating from 1910, instead of 1911. The number of Prussian votes in the Bundesrat is given (p. 28) as 20 out of 58 votes, "her quota having been increased from 17 by contracts made with smaller states subsequent to 1871." This was true some years ago, but Prussia no longer controls the two votes of Brunswick, while three delegates have now been admitted from Alsace-Lorraine, making the total number 61, and these three votes are presumably under Prussian influence. Hence the number of Prussian votes is either 18 or 21, but in no case 20, and the total number is 61, not 58. Greater Berlin is stated (p. 30) as sending eight members to the Reichstag; the number should be six. It is asserted (p. 31) that the members of the Reichstag are not paid. This was formerly true, but since 1906 they have received 3000 marks a year. The description (p. 40) of the three-class electoral system in Prussia is incorrect, in stating that "those who paid one-third of the taxes are permitted to choose electors *who in turn elect one-third of the deputies to parliament.*" In fact the three classes choose each one-third of the electors who all together in one electoral college by absolute majority choose the one, two or three members of the Reichstag to which the constituency is entitled. The number of members in the Prussian lower house from Berlin is given (p. 42) as nine, whereas it has been twelve since 1906. One wonders at the definiteness of the statement (p. 45) that the long struggle over dues and taxation by which the English constitution was evolved "ended in the subordination of the Crown to Parliament, which up to 1909 was, in effect, subordination

to the landed aristocracy." What radical change occurred in 1909 that warrants so positive a statement? The name of President Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation is spelled (p. 217) "Pritchell;" that of Baron vom Stein is given (p. 267) as "Baron von Stein." The description of the three-class electoral system for Prussian cities (pp. 269, 270) is correct for the period before 1900. Quite a different system, though still a three-class system, is now employed. The amount of tax paid by each class is no longer equal. In 1900, for example, in Berlin, Class I paid a tax of 25,322,699 marks; Class II paid 25,325,199 marks; while Class III paid only 11,096,743 marks.

WALTER JAMES SHEPARD.

*Government and Politics of the German Empire.* By FRITZ-KONRAD KRÜGER. (Yonkers-on-Hudson: New York. World Book Company. 1915. Pp. xi, 340.)

This little book is the first to appear of a series, entitled "Handbooks of Modern Government," under the editorship of Dean David P. Barrows and Prof. Thomas H. Reed of the University of California. Other volumes will deal with "American Dependencies," "The Government of the Swiss Confederation," "Government and Politics of Great Britain," and "Government and Administration of Prussia and the Federal States of the German Empire." The volume under review sets a high standard of excellence which, if maintained by its successors, will make the series one of the most useful and notable contributions in recent years to the field of government. More than the usual attention has been devoted by the publishers to the make-up of this handbook. In attractiveness of design it leaves little to be desired. It is adorned by handsome illustrations of the three kaisers and the five chancellors, and contains also two very interesting and useful charts, one of the Reichstag hall showing the seating of the different parties; the other a map of Germany showing in colors the distribution of the members of the Reichstag according to party.

The author of the present work holds the doctorate from Tübingen and likewise a degree from the University of Nebraska. He thus combines the intimate and detailed knowledge of the German scholar with the appreciation of the needs and requirements of the American student. There is evidence throughout the pages of the work of both these qualities.

Since one of the forthcoming volumes is to treat of the government